

governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind."

Wilson failed to embody the whole of his Fourteen Points

in the peace settlement, for with the termination of the struggle his importance for the allies waned as quickly as it

had grown. The Treaty of Versailles, judged by its results,

was a bad peace. *Si monumentum requiris circumspice.* But

without Wilson it would have been far worse.

Let me fortify

myself with an extract from the eloquent tribute in Sir Arthur

Salter's *Recovery*. "The greatest decision, the greatest achieve-

ment, of his life was the inclusion of the Covenant in the

Peace Treaties. He fought almost alone. Had he failed there

would have been no League; for what chance would there

have been of a Covenant when peace had been concluded?

It would have been impossible for one who did not combine

the vision of the idealist, the practical insight into the conditions

of success of a realist, and an unshakable will, unmoved by

opposition or the foolish counsel of friends.

If the world

does indeed prevent the occurrence of great wars, it will be to

this great act of this great man, more than to any other person

or event in history, that it will owe its salvation.

The figure

of Wilson will loom in history above his lesser contemporaries

and across the valleys of intervening generations of lesser

successors."

To measure his difficulties let me quote another pen-portrait

from the gallery of Versailles—the memorable study of

Clemenceau by Mr. Keynes. "He felt about France what

Pericles felt of Athens—unique value in her, nothing else

matter. But his theory of politics was Bismarck's. He

had one illusion—France; and one disillusion—mankind,

including Frenchmen, and his colleagues not least. His

philosophy had no place for 'sentimentality' in international

relations. Nations are real things, of which you

love one and
feel for the rest indifference or hatred. The glory
of the nation
you love is a desirable end, but generally to be
obtained at
your neighbour's expense. Prudence required
some measure
of lip-service to the * ideals * of foolish
Americans and hypo-
critical Englishmen, but it would be stupid to
believe that
there is much room in the world as it really is
for such a Sairs
as the League of Nations, or any sense in the
principle of self-
determination except as an ingenious formula
for rearranging
the balance of power in* one's own interests."
And so we
leave the old statesman, " throned, in his grey
gloves, on the
brocade chair, dry in soul and empty of hope,
very old and